

585riage of a man to his deceased wife's sister might be desired and actively encouraged by her family if he was regarded as a good man, a hard worker, a skilled fisherman, and one worth keeping attached to the family. Similar remarks apply to the levirate. A woman living at one time with two brothers is termed *uouine hai wole*. Informants believed that the woman and the brother not her husband would both die early deaths as punishment for the sin. In successive levirate, if the deceased husband had been generous (*atewai*) to them, the widow's family would urge her to marry the deceased's brother.

## PERSONAL CHOICE OF MATE

581 Informants suggested that the following qualities were desirable when choosing a wife: beauty of body, breeding certainties, industry and skill at crafts, wealth in talo gardens and coconut trees. Some felt that obedience and a good reputation were important, others that an industrious and fruitful wife was a better choice than any other. Veti regarded it as immaterial how fruitfulness is proved, whether by a man's own effort or by the efforts of another lover and in this he expresses general opinion.

581 The cultural ideal of beautiful womanhood is in terms of averages only. The ideal has: eyes wide apart, a high nose, small firm breasts, a well filled-out body, medium thick lips, and curly or wavy hair. Add to these an average height (a short stature according to western standards), a physically strong and powerful body, light brown skin with an abundance of whitish *linea* marks, and the ideal is complete. A man or a woman who is trying to win a mate will often make special efforts to beautify the body and to appear industrious, hoping that appearances will help to make the desired mate more sympathetic to the suit. This is termed *wahokume*.

## WEDDING

584 Formal courtship having been initiated by *wakatapu* gifts of food, ornaments, and other articles of value, marriage is discussed between the two young people.

583 When an agreement is reached, the matter is referred to their relatives. If both groups are agreed, the young man goes one evening to the girl's house, sleeps there with the girl, and stays until morning (*wakamalawa*). From his presence in the girl's household in the early morning, the people of the village know that the marriage (*wahesoupa*) is accomplished. A young man not intending marriage might sleep with a girl in her house at night but would leave before dawn; this is called *tanpotango* and does not imply any obligations on either side.

585 A man set on marrying a girl who at first refuses him makes frequent and regular presents of fish, nuts, talo, even fishhooks, to her parents, and helps them at every opportunity in house building, canoe making, etc. The parents soon realize his object. They talk to their daughter, telling her she ought to marry the man. If the girl refuses, they give her a thrashing, saying that as they have accepted all the presents, they will be shamed before the whole island if she does not pay back this indebtedness. Willing or

584 unwilling, the girl is thus taken to the man. If she later runs away, she is dragged back to her husband. If she remains recalcitrant, girl, husband, and parents fight it out until one or the other decides to give in.

585 The marriage is finally concluded by a feast (*waikima*) and by the presentation  
731 of gifts. In a marriage between undistinguished families or where there is a motive to keep it quiet, a feast is prepared by the bilateral relatives of both bride and bridegroom and is eaten on the same morning of the *wakamaloma*, either at the boy's or the girl's house, depending on which is more convenient. Relatives of both principals bring gifts which are divided among themselves. If the families are distinguished or wish to make a display, a large feast is prepared before the prearranged night on which the boy is to come to the girl's house. Again, the relatives on both sides contribute.

[574] Wedding gifts of food are of two kinds: *houhou*, gifts of *wawa loloi* (a talo dish), *pulaka loloi* (a *pulaka* dish), uncooked talo, nuts or fish foods intended as a contribution to the feast to be divided among the relatives and friends present at the food division; and *tapu*, gifts of talo puddings (*kamaka*, *mowu*, and *olo*), bananas, chickpeas or fish, which are given as personal presents to the bride and groom, to be eaten only by them. The food is brought together early in the day. In the afternoon the bride and groom sit outside either's house while relatives bring them mats, malos, ornaments, semit, fishing gear, and today piece goods, soap, and the like. This phase of the marriage is termed *wakawolo* (aggrandizing). Gifts brought by the girl's relatives are laid at the feet of the boy; those brought by the boy's relatives are laid before the girl.

Before presenting his gifts the donor may make a few dance steps and improvise a chant in which he lauds his own kinship group, refers to its wealth, and makes derogatory remarks about the poverty of the other principal's relatives. A presentation from the groom's side is followed by one from the bride's side, and the same type of praise and insult is repeated. This goes on for a long time, each kinship group endeavoring to outdo the other in the multiplicity and value of the gifts presented. When the gift-giving ends through natural exhaustion, the food is divided (*tau*) among all those present. Later the permanent gifts presented by the boy's side are divided among the relatives of the girl, those presented by the girl's relatives are divided among the boy's group. Only those relatives who have made gifts participate in this division. The bridal couple rarely keep more than a few articles. The differentiation in gift-giving, found in Samoa is absent; relatives of both bride and groom bring the same types of gift, whether of food or of durable goods.

Several marriages of the *wakawolo* type occurred during our stay on the island and occasioned much excitement. As the burden of the gift-giving falls on the immediate families of the bride and groom, the drain on their wealth is considerable. One man who has married off three daughters at intervals of only a few months is now so impoverished that he fears his family will be sadly disgraced when his fourth daughter's *wakawolo* takes place shortly. The father of the groom has insisted on reserving this *wakawolo* until after the arrival of the bi-yearly trading schooner so that he may make such a show of gifts as will effectually put the bride's relatives in a very inferior position.

The marriage of a chief or of a son or daughter of the chief followed this general pattern. The mate for a member of the chiefly family was chosen from a family wealthy in talo and coconut trees. The usual gift-giving was held, but on an elaborate scale commensurate with the wealth and status of the two families concerned.

#### ADULTERY

837 The concept of adultery (*wahoipo*), as felt and acted upon in former times, is difficult to define. Informants looked at the matter in the following terms:

136 JOURNAL OF THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY

114 The first paragraphs annotate a somewhat typical  
124 conflict, which may be either acute or implicit, between  
597 loyalties to blood-parents and those to adopted parents, a  
conflict that is all the more striking here because Lua did  
not learn the identity of her own blood-parents until she was  
about five years old. Adoption occurs with great frequency  
in Pukapuka, either before or soon after birth. Its function  
in general is to obtain an heir who will continue the paternal  
descent-line. Informants were fond of dwelling on the  
heinousness of those blood-parents who seek to attract back  
to themselves children they have allowed to be adopted.  
[173] Along with stealing from village-controlled reserve food-  
lands (*motu*), such disloyalty to the adopting parents may be  
classed as the supremely ugly Pukapukan sin.

114 Belief in spirits and the fear of their ghostly visitation  
776 upon the living is still very real. Dreams are caused by  
ghosts, sickness as well, sometimes otherwise unexplainable  
pregnancies. Children are also disciplined by the threat that  
[861] ghosts will catch them if they misbehave.

882 Marriage for the Pukapukan did and does come re-  
[532] latively late in maturity. Its object is to secure children who  
will complete the continuity of the descent-line. Boys and  
girls formerly went naked until physiological maturity.  
Then they were formally tested and admitted to sociological  
adulthood. The girl was allowed to wear the coconut-leaf  
kilt, the boy his coconut-leaf or pandanus *malo*. Along with  
this went full participation in village activities and an adult's  
share in food divisions. Thereafter the young people were  
given considerable personal freedom. Such freedom was  
accepted and enjoyed to the full. The infrequent children  
[848] born out of wedlock were accepted with thanks by the  
mother's family because they meant extra food in village  
[836] food-divisions. Chastity before marriage was and is a  
meaningless concept to the Pukapukan. When the young  
people tire of a life of freedom, or when one forms a romantic  
attraction for another of the opposite sex, then a permanent  
[585] alliance is announced by the establishment of a patrilocal  
domicile, socially validated by the holding of a food-division  
and the exchange of gifts between the families of the bride  
and groom.